1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

776 782 rests with the eldest male of the foulding lineage of the village, but the whole community usually assists. There may be two guardian spirits in a village, one at the head and one at the tail of the community.

754 Witchcraft, poisoning, magical curses, oaths, and ordeals are all present in Atimelang religion, but are undeveloped or unstressed.

778 613 782 769 Sacred hearths of various types (*ara foka, wa ara, mani ara, je ara, kuya ara*) belong to lineages and are kept in the lineage house when it exists. They are simply four pieces of wood like those that form the frame of the ordinary household hearths. The sacred hearths should be fed once a year. As food is offered the hearth, the lineage ancestors, in so far as they are known, are named. The sacrifices are usually made in February or March when the new corn crop is about to be harvested. The owner of the hearth should abstain from a varying series [262] of foods prior to the sacrifice.

796 At the season when the hearths are being fed, there are also four minor village ceremonies whose general function is to assure plentiful crops. They are given in the course of two months, February and March, and are in order of performance: Hopuina (spit on it), Yetok (water pours), Bol (strike), and Ading (also called Kuya, both of which are untranslatable). Responsibilities for certain duties in these ceremonies descend in the male line.

784 Connected with some of these ceremonies and with the feeding of certain hearths are quiet, or taboo (*si*), periods, during which vigorous work, shouting, and quarreling may not take place. Any breach requires [688] a gift to the owner of the ceremony by way of atonement. Usually these taboo periods last only one day but the most important of them lasts four days and comes at the end of the dry season just before the men of the Five Villages set out for the one communal hunt of the year. During the 224 hunt, which is primarily for wild pig, large grass fires are set. Men stay at special hunting camps on the edge of uncultivated grasslands while the women remain quietly at leisure in the home village.

769 782 There are also more or less elaborate garden sacrifices to the souls of former cultivators of the site. If the site is a new one, sacrifices are made to the *genius loci*, which has been disturbed. The number and size of the sacrifices depend on whether the garden (*uti*) is a small one frequently used and planted to corn, or a large field (*piming*) at some distance from the village and usually reserved for rice.

765 Death feasts, although largely financial and closely allied with prestige, may also be considered part of the religious ritual, since their ultimate objective is to dismiss the souls of the dead from the vicinity of the village. During the first ten days after death a series of obligations

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

are created: in the burial services, in two death feasts called Hevela- 765
berka and Hevelakang, and in an indefinite number of all-night gong-beating memorials (*sinewai*). These obligations are then repaid over a period of years in feasts called Rolik, Baleti, and Ato, each of which, and especially the last, is subdivided into a number of parts. The last climactic feast involves the slaying of either a carabao or a sheep, depending on which is traditionally used in the lineage. For those who die violent deaths, however, special observances including the spirit-bird [766]
(*kari rua*) ceremony are used instead. For those killed in head-hunting expeditions there were observances similar to those for the victims of accidents or certain dreaded diseases.

Remarks on religion in this volume, either here or later, do not 771
exhaust the range of spirits recognized or the variety of observances connected with them. An indication of the diversity, as well as the amorphism, of spirit relationships is that in twenty-one households of Dikimpe and its associated hamlets there were at least fifty-six known spirits, altars, carvings, and the like. Obviously details must await separate publication, since it is not the purpose of this account to give a thorough ethnographic description, but only to include such material as is pertinent to the general problem described in Chapter 1.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

765
252
476

A rice-pounding bee several days before a death feast payoff.

342

The largest rice cones of two ceremonial seasons, prepared for a lineage house-building feast.

[p. 32 H]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

436
765

The largest currency display of two seasons was made at the tumukun's death feast payoff (*baleti*) for his father-in-law. The mokos and broken gongs are ranged in order of value. On the dance-place altar are quarters of pigs, which will also be paid to the debtors.

292

Children hurrying home in their raincapes of a late afternoon as the rainy season begins. Note the house post and rat disk at the extreme left and in the background the fields of corn.

Cp.32 xJ

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

is, the closest lineal kin of the murdered man receives from the sellers gifts of which he does not partake, whereas the more distant Male House kin may eat freely of the food. This parallels the procedure in death feasts, at which close kin of the dead refuse food. After this lifting of taboos, payments are in order, but, as in the payoff of death feast obligations, they may not be made for many years. This preliminary procedure is simply a token of an obligation undertaken. In 1938 and 1939 there were still such outstanding obligations awaiting settlement, although no heads had been taken for at least twenty years.

If an enemy kills a man but does not have a chance to decapitate him, the home village of the victim itself decapitates him, puts the head in an ash-filled basket, and hangs it in a bamboo thicket or on a remotely located platform. Before putting it aside, however, the six potential buyers of revenge shoot arrows into the head of their kinsman and urge his soul to go out and find six sellers, that is, six avengers. The head is "fed" every few days and whenever it smells food it is supposed to cry. This assures the kin that the head is still there and that it has not been stolen by an enemy for resale.

In all this system of revenge the head is actually of minimal importance. One can sell the fact of a death without producing the head. On the other hand, any head will do if a lineal kin wishes to buy one and make an honorific (i.e., financial) settlement for a death. In such a case, a stolen head will do as well as any other.

At the payoff for the head the sellers must first be appeased, and, as in all financial settlements of this sort, there are hours and hours of haggling, of derogations, of threatened withdrawals, and of attempted chicanery. When claims of the various ranks of creditors have been met, the climax of the ceremony is to bring the head onto the dance place. Since the real head has usually long since disintegrated or been lost, a cowrie shell or a stone wrapped in coconut fiber can be substituted. The bundle is woven into a closed coconut-leaf container like those made for cooking raw rice and is lashed to the end of a pole. A volunteer, who is paid a small fee, stands with the pole and its bundle on the village boundary. He calls the buyers to come fetch the sellers and the bundle. The buyers and their female kin assemble in full regalia in front of the head bundle and begin "dancing" it into the village.

The dance is a vigorous challenge dance resembling the gestures used by men in debate. This dancing of an object into the village is also used for house posts, valuable mokos, spirit-bird bundles, and any prized objects. The sellers follow this procession. Once on the dance

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Oh, Village Guardian, track down those who have been our guests.*
Now in this drowsy fourth quarter of the night
We call upon you; we ask your help
That you may persistently track our many debtors.

Verse 11. A host, addressing the Guardian Spirit.

Listen, Guardian Spirit,
Pursue new wealth and old wealth.
From the market or from the Kamang area
Show it the way here.
Hook it up with your horn.
Let it slide in like flowing water.

SOME FINANCIAL PRESSURES

If compensatory skills are minimal and esthetic outlets seem only to reinforce the premium set on financial success, it may be of some interest to turn once more to some of the institutional details involved in financial manipulations. This will give us an impression of the sort of difficulty involving chicanery and frustrations with which the less successful are incapable of coping and before which they surrender to a greater or lesser degree. In the section on marriage the obstacles of some young men in launching into the system were described. Difficult as a youth's position may sometimes be, it is only a portion of the sum of difficulties he may encounter as a man and of the distrusts and suspicions the system, as a system, is calculated to engender.

It must be evident by now that wealth consists essentially of a series of outstanding credits, not of accumulated property. But no debt is ever paid by one individual to another without a preliminary dunning, except in the case of general payoff feasts. However, to give a feast a man must work at dunning for months ahead of time to be assured of enough tangible wealth from his debtors to provide a satisfactory payoff for his creditors who crowd to the feast. The game played at such ceremonial payoffs is to force as much as possible out of the host, while he in turn has been trying to force as much as possible from his debtors. He uses a variety of magic wealth-bringing devices that range from building a new shed for his wealth-bringing spirits and placating them with food, to beating gongs and mokos morning and evening in order to draw in more gongs and mokos. The strain of debt collecting is nicely illustrated by the words used, which mean to draw (*filia*) and to tug (*bagik*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as horse posts.

* Who have accepted gifts, that they may repay them.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

(*bafik*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as house posts. The difficulty of calling in reserves is further illustrated by the uncertainty surrounding the date set for a feast. The case of the tumukun's payoff death feast will show just how harassing such a situation can be.

The tumukun must have been pondering the event of a death feast for some weeks, but the first indication I had of his plans for it was on March 23, when a group of women gathered to hull rice. The next day he divined to discover the proper date, and the result of this divination set April 4 as the day of the feast. When April 4 arrived it was obvious that no feast was under way. I asked what had happened and was told there had been a two-day delay in order to give guests time to arrive. On April 14 the tumukun again divined for a propitious date, and the day was set for April 26. That night and the next day he had satellites deliver thirty-nine invitations in the form of "memo tallies" to inform his debtors that gongs and mokos were to begin arriving as early as April 22. These memo tallies are strips of coconut leaves in one end of which a flat knot is tied; the other end is slit as many times as there are days before the feast. The guest is supposed to tear off one tab a day.

Meanwhile the tumukun had been making gong- and moko-bringing magic every evening and morning. Since all these activities were quite open, no one could have been ignorant of his plans. April 26 came and went, however, but no guests arrived. The tumukun was very much ashamed and, characteristically, very angry. He complained to me of the situation when I was indiscreet enough to inquire about the cause of the delay, and he blusteringly threatened to carry litigations against his debtors to the radjah himself. He began once more a round of visits to his debtors scattered through about ten villages to berate them for their recalcitrance. I asked a neutral person if people were angry with the tumukun and was told that they were not, that such delays were customary.

On July 13 the tumukun again began morning and evening to beat gongs and mokos in order to draw in his wealth. A few dowry payments arrived during the last days of July. On July 28 he went to fetch the soul of his father-in-law, in whose honor the death feast was to be. The father-in-law had been buried in the old Alurkowati village site twenty years before, and his soul had to be brought to the dance place in Atimelang, where his feast was to be given. The tumukun took this opportunity to berate his father-in-law's soul for its inactivity in spurring debtors to make payments. The souls of those who are to be hon-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

ored are supposed to precede the human creditors and "soften people's hearts." For the next few days the tumukun's kinsmen and debtors continued making payments and by August 4 the feast was finally given, four months after the original date set for it.

Even then not an adequate number of debtors appeared, so that on August 4 there was only the slaughtering of pigs and the division of food. On August 7 the actual gongs and mokos were distributed. The wealth array was one of the most elaborate I saw during my eighteen months, but I was assured that it was by no means the largest possible. There were fifteen mokos and eight broken gongs, representing about one hundred dollars, displayed on the dance place. This did not include pigs or rice. Practically the whole day was taken up with the distribution, although the actual passing out of payments did not begin until about four-thirty. At five-forty the first creditor, a satellite kin and village-mate of the tumukun, beat the moko he had received and left the dance place as a sign of satisfaction with the payment made. Some of the other creditors, however, were overtly and articulately dissatisfied with their payments, and some of the more implacable ones refused to accept them and leave until noon the next day. Meanwhile, in several instances, they had succeeded in forcing higher payments. Several times the tumukun and his guests were in acute rages over the negotiations. The tumukun finally managed to convince his guests that he had absolutely no currency of any sort left. Actually he had taken the precaution of hiding two mokos in a field house occupied by a kin so that his creditors would not discover them and insist on having them.

In attempting to visualize the general atmosphere of grasping hard dealing that runs riot on such occasions, one must picture a whole group of people who are present simply because they are creditors of the tumukun's creditors. They watch what is being distributed, and the minute one of their creditors is paid a gong or moko, they lay claim to it as payment for an outstanding debt. The result is that, in addition to the quarrels centering on the tumukun's debt liquidations, there is also a series of minor quarrels being waged on the side.

A condensed account of this sort can scarcely begin to indicate the anger, humiliations, and frustrations the tumukun had to endure for the prestige the feast brought him. It is not surprising that many men delay payoff feasts indefinitely and must often be forced into them. The most common pressure that forces a reluctant financier into a ceremonial payoff is illness, his own or that of some family member. Divination reveals that a dead kinsman is angry at delay or neglect and that

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

755 426 765 his soul is causing the sickness. A small promissory sacrifice to the angered ghost removes the immediate symptoms. Then the long-drawn preliminaries leading to a feast are set in motion.

621 426 765 A less frequent form of coercing a man into ceremonial expenses is beginning an undertaking in which he is then forced to join. In connection with the death feast given by the tumukun there was an example of such an involvement. The tumukun was giving a feast for his father-in-law. This brought in, although very reluctantly, the maternal uncle of the tumukun's wife and her sister. This uncle was held equally responsible by his female kin for the ceremony in view of the fact that there were no nearer male kin of the deceased.

Another case of forced participation happened in connection with the erection of a new carving of the village guardian spirit for Dikimpe. The person primarily responsible for taking the initiative and bearing the brunt of the expenses was Fantan the Interpreter, who had inherited this duty from his father. In Dikimpe the village guardian spirit carving had not been renewed for several years, nor had the spirit been fed. Thomas, who belonged to one of the Dikimpe lineages and was responsible only to a minor degree for the expenses, ordered a carving made and then left the major part of the activities for Fantan to carry through. It was interesting in this instance that Fantan seemed to bear no resentment.

A still rarer form of forcing a man into feast activities is through public shaming. A quarrel that resulted in a feast five months later is worth giving in detail.

578 593 Maugata, a young man of about eighteen, had done a few days' work on the coast and earned some money which he invested in a crude kerosene flare and a bottle of oil. There were only about half a dozen such lamps in the village, and their owners were very proud of them. On Maugata's return from the coast his father, who was ill, insisted on burning the lamp all night. The next night Djetmani, a neighbor, borrowed the lamp from Maugata's father so that he might have more than just firelight by which to tie into bundles his newly harvested corn. On the third night, Maugata wanted to carry his lamp to an all-night dance, doubtless with the hope of splurging a bit. He found the bottle empty of oil and the lamp dry. He was furious and berated his father until his father, who was both ineffectual and ill, burst into tears. Maugata's mother, who is Tilapada of the autobiographies, turned on her son and scolded him harshly for his behavior.

578 Maugata left the house in a rage and found Djetmani outside. The two began quarreling. Djetmani threatened to break the lamp. Maugata

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

retorted that Djetmani would die the day that the lamp was broken and then added that he for one would be pleased to have it smashed immediately. To wish a person's death is one of the more deadly insults. Djetmani pointed his finger at Maugata and said that he would strike him were he a grown man, but after all Maugata was just an unmarried boy. Maugata at this point ran up so close to Djetmani, daring him to strike, that Djetmani's finger entered Maugata's eye. Maugata, who was now practically beside himself, shouted, "Why don't you pay for your mother's shroud? Why don't you give any feasts?" This referred to the fact that, about twenty years before, Maugata's father had furnished half a piece of cloth as a burial shroud for Djetmani's mother, and Djetmani, a man of about thirty with two wives, had not yet given any payoff death feasts.

As usual there had been nothing quiet or subdued about this quarrel. The exchange of insults had echoed through the whole valley and had attracted the guests at the all-night dance up on the knoll. Maugata's maternal uncle had joined the crowd that surrounded the fighters. When Maugata's last insult was delivered, his uncle suddenly lost his temper, berated him for quarreling and for his lack of restraint, and then hit him so hard over the left eye with a rattan club that the boy was stunned. Maugata, when he was brought to my house for medication, was quite obviously making the most of his injury. Meanwhile calmer neutrals had interfered, and the chief ordered both of the men to appear for a trial at sunrise when the dance ended.

The uncle and Djetmani danced all night, but Maugata went home and for at least three hours I heard his mother berate him in a voice audible to neighbors and passers-by. At the trial in the morning each in turn told his version of the quarrel. The uncle admitted that he had been at fault — not, however, in striking his nephew, but in striking him on the head. He had already paid his nephew a fine of seven and a half cents. The uncle was then dismissed. Djetmani in telling his tale became more and more despondent. He ended with the comment, "I have been made ashamed. I'll pay back that piece of cloth right now."

This immediately precipitated a general discussion about the relative value of the shroud and the piece of cloth that Djetmani was planning to cut in half by way of repayment. The cloth was brought, examined, and then finally accepted as an equivalent. The chief cut it in two and handed Maugata half. Djetmani got up and walked away crying. Maugata's mother was in tears and Maugata, looking very sullen and angry, was surreptitiously wiping his eyes. The next day Djetmani began the preliminary sacrifices involved in a payoff ceremony. This he was able

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

426 This he was able
765 to give some five months later with assistance from the tumukun, whose
[571] satellite he was.

626 Another device to force participation in a feast is used only by kin.
[602] This constitutes a kind of capital levy. It consists of openly shooting a man's pig in its pen. Since pork is never eaten casually, this forces the pig owner into at least a minor feast. For a case of this sort, the death of Fantan's child as told in his autobiography (page 387) serves as an illustration. The same device is used to force a reluctant kinsman into contributing the dead pig to the shooter's feast. That is, a promise to pay is substituted for the pig. This is the process underlying the slaughtering of animals in the wealth contest described previously, and it brings out the advantages of having a large group of kinsmen. Even the accidental death of a pig is often the incentive for a feast or sacrifice. The same holds true if a man shoots a pig that is rooting up his garden after he has warned its owner of the damage it is doing.

There are then a number of ways of forcing a man into feast activities and the meeting of ceremonial obligations if he is reluctant to participate in the prestige game. In the case of individual debts the final recourse, when debtors are delinquent, is forceful seizure or threats of the
426 sort already mentioned. To carry such a procedure through success-
627 fully it is necessary to have a sufficient number of supporting kin or
602 satellites who will provide the intimidating show of force required.
571 There were many cases of this sort during my eighteen months there. As a rule pigs are the property seized, but even mokos and gongs are subject to seizure, although this means entering and searching another man's house. There is, however, a measure of protection against such procedure. Most financiers with large outstanding credits are careful to keep no very valuable pieces of currency where they can be confiscated. With mokos of lower value one makes every effort to lend them out at credit as soon as possible after receiving them. With mokos of high value, which circulate less freely, it is customary to bury them secretly in some well-concealed spot. Only a man's brother or his sons may be partners to the hiding place.

426 Pigs cannot be disposed of so easily. Instead there is a system of part-
571 nership in pig raising that assures the owner of an ally in case of seizure.
627 Furthermore, it is a way of concealing the extent of animal wealth. The
425 system is to furnish a partner, often in another village, with a piglet to raise. This partner acquires half interest in the animal by giving the owner a stipulated number of payments and by feeding it. If anyone
425 attempts to seize the pig for a debt incurred by either of the co-owners,
571 the partner is of necessity an ally against this forceful procedure. It is a

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Melanesians the Atimelangers cannot be considered ghost-ridden. The interesting point is that these potentially malignant dead are always one's most immediate kin. People have two souls. At death one goes to a village below if the death has not been violent. If it has been, the soul goes above (*adiy hong*), and a spirit-bird ceremony must be given for it. The second soul is the one that loiters about the village boundary and against which precautions are taken at the time of burial.

It is at this time that the soul is particularly dangerous because the deceased wishes company. To placate it in this early and more potent phase of malignancy and to relegate it to the village boundary there are special feasts, the Hevelaberka held on the fourth day after death and the Hevelakang on the ninth day after death. During these nine days a few minor restrictions are observed by the family, including taboos on salt, bathing, and sexual intercourse. During that time there may be also one or two all-night gong-playing memorials (*sinewai*), including the feeding of the guests who attend. It is during these nine days that there occurs all the ostentatious use of pigs and the incurrence of debts, which must be repaid in subsequent years, or even generations, in a series of feasts called Rolik, Baleti, and Tila (also called Ato in its final phase). The first two of these feasts are named, significantly enough, after two ways of preparing rice; the first refers to rice rolls, the second to small woven containers in which raw rice is boiled.

The third feast can really be broken down into a number of ceremonies. To the whole series I have given the name of the first ceremony, (*Tila*), which means *string* and refers to the purchase of either a sheep or a carabao for the final and supreme death feast after which the soul of the dead is banished from the village boundary and thus from interference in human affairs. The motivations for giving payoff feasts have already been discussed in the chapter on adults and institutions. The pressure of creditors, prestige, and, perhaps most often, illness of descendants lead to these final ceremonies. The dead become impatient and annoyed at the lack of postmortem prestige and manifest their displeasure by making trouble for the living.

As soon as an illness is diagnosed as the manifestation of a displeased soul, a small quantity of rice is offered it in a bamboo container raised on a pole. From here on, plans for a payoff feast should get under way; but frequently long delays occur, and it is hoped that meanwhile the small original offering will stave off the soul. In addition, the dead may withhold good crops if the smaller garden feasts are not made in the fields they have worked or if they are not named and fed at a series of new-corn rituals owned by various lineages. All this placation of the dead

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

775 765 involves saying their names as small quantities of food are set aside for them. Death feasts are given primarily for parents or grandparents. Such feasts, which may be precipitated by illness but nevertheless give prestige, may reproduce for the individual the positive and negative emotions that cluster around child training and are reinforced by the financial organization.

SACRIFICES

782 261 The motif of sacrifice or feeding occurs over and over again, not only in relation to the dead but in relation to all supernatural beings. Feeding is the chief cultural tool for symbolizing social euphoria and for placating supernatural beings. Since the experiences of individual children with respect to hunger and disciplinary relationships vary greatly, it is to be expected that in adults also attitudes toward sacrifice will vary in the "depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy." * Mangma begins his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, is engrossed with accounts of his gardening prowess and with details of food taboos, and finally stresses sacrifices associated with the care of his sacred hearth. Tilapada begins the story of her childhood with tales of quarrels. She interprets subsequent anxiety [828] dreams as warnings that she has not placated the proper spirits, but she continues to neglect them. One man is conscientious and regular in making food sacrifices to his tutelaries; another neglects them until illness indicates that he has angered the supernaturals.

782 153 Individual childhood experiences in respect to hunger and discipline may find modes of expression in institutionalized fields, and certain institutions are reinforced because of the personal emotional content that can be directed into them. One must be careful not to use such nexi as sacrifice and childhood experiences as exclusive causal sequences. It would be ludicrously antihistorical to say that childhood feeding habits gave rise to a system of sacrifice in Atimelang. They have merely reinforced and made significant to many individuals that widespread Indonesian custom. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that obedience was expected of children, that running away was a means of avoiding disciplinary harshness, and that children conformed against their wishes only when overwhelmed by a superior force. These are the essence of most Atimelangers' attitudes toward sacrifices and death feasts. As a rule they are offered only when the external pressure is such that it means preserving the health, prestige, or well-being of one's family.

I suggest that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice so long

* Quoted from Sapir, in *Language, Culture, and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941).